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The Woman Voter

The Evening Sun.

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PUBLISHED BY

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ELSIE ROLLINS, Business Manager

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THE Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York is organized to win votes for women. It follows the regular political party plan, having a leader in every one of the 63 Assembly Districts and a Captain in each Election District of the city.

Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman in New York City who believes in equal suffrage.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

DECEMBER, 1915

HALF A MILLION VOTES WON

HALF a million men voted for woman suffrage in New York on November 2nd. Suffrage polled a larger vote than Taft or Roosevelt in the presidential campaign of 1912 or Glynn in the gubernatorial campaign of 1914. One million, two hundred and ten thousand persons voted on the question, and *forty-two per cent.* of the vote was favorable to suffrage. The Empire State is almost won.

We did not lose the amendment through fraud or trickery. The election was a fair one, and the women watchers were treated with courtesy, almost without exception. Both the political parties kept their promise of neutrality. Many machine politicians and party leaders were openly hostile to the amendment, but they opposed it as individuals, and we hold neither party responsible for our defeat.

We failed to carry our amendment because we were unable to win every ninth vote. Our task is to convert nine men out of every one hundred voters before the next referendum. We know now what these nine unconverted voters are like. Sometimes they are mediaeval old gentlemen with narrow prejudices; sometimes they are arrogant young men, flushed with the divine right of sex; sometimes they are merely thoughtless and indifferent. Conspicuous among the nine voters, however, are the cheap politicians, who have something to lose when women vote, and their allies, the liquor dealers, who have been told that suffrage and prohibition are synonymous.

Richmond came nearest to carrying for suffrage, with 46 per cent. of the vote favorable; Bronx, with its great population and its comparatively new borough organization, came swinging in with 45 per cent. of its total vote for suffrage; Manhattan, where the most difficult problems of the campaign seemed to be concentrated, astonished political prophets by a vote of 42 per cent. in favor, while Brooklyn followed with a record of 41 per cent. favorable, and Queens with 38 per cent. of the vote. Before the next referendum we must win five in every hundred of the Richmond electorate; in the Bronx, six out of every one hundred; in Brooklyn, ten out of every one hundred; in Manhattan, nine, and in Queens, thirteen.

The new campaign opened with a rousing rally in Cooper Union. A State campaign fund of $100,000 was pledged amid greatest enthusiasm. The campaign leaders were given ovations and promises of loyal support until the Empire State carries for suffrage. As an expression of the sentiment of the meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The woman suffrage amendment received more than half a million votes in New York State on November 2nd, representing approximately four-ninths of the total vote cast on the question, the largest number ever polled for suffrage in any commonwealth in the world's history of the movement; and

Whereas, The casting of 500,000 votes for any political issue is conclusive testimony of the resistless pressure behind it; and

Whereas, The campaign just ended has been the opportunity for sowing broadcast ideals of democracy that have now become a living part of the American body politic, and that, out of nothing, have created sufficient opinion to register hundreds of thousands of votes at the first call of this great reform in New York State; therefore, be it

Resolved, That, inspired by the number and the character of the supporters that have been drawn to the suffrage cause, and relying on our army of 514,198 strong already intrenched in the enemy's country, we start here and now a campaign for Presidential suffrage, for another referendum, and for the submission of a Federal amendment conferring the suffrage on women, which the Legislature has the constitutional right to bestow; and be it further

Resolved, That we give ourselves anew to the suffrage cause and pledge renewed consecration to the work in New York State, pressing forward from the great heights already gained to the summit of our aspiration—the right of self-government.

A POLITICAL MIRACLE

WHAT THE WOMEN HAVE DONE

THE GLOBE extends its hearty congratulations to the equal suffragists of New York on whar may be justly regarded as a magnificent victory. In a first campaign the support of an army of 500,000 men has been enlisted. The achievement may be regarded as little less than a political miracle, and it foreshadows in the not distant future an easy triumph.

A year ago, when probably nine-tenths of the men of New York were indifferent or hostile to equal suffrage, if anyone had predicted that within twelve months as many as 500,000 votes would be cast for an equal suffrage amendment such a one would have been regarded as crazy or as a visionary enthusiast. But the thing has come to pass. The campaign of education carried on with splendid ardor by the progressive women of the State has educated. The appeal for simple justice and for a broadening of the basis of democracy for both the benefit of the State and of those it is proposed to enfranchise has not fallen on stopped ears.

It is not difficult to see in the returns that a majority of the men who consider public questions from the standpoint of the general interest are in favor of equal suffrage. Take away from the "anti" vote those who fear that women voters will not be friendly to their selfish interests and it is likely the amendment would have carried.

As a result of the campaign hundreds of thousands of women in the State have been educated into a new and better understanding of government—its needs and its weaknesses. Even the women who organized themselves as "antis" have learned much and will be better citizens. No one can measure the social good that will come from the fact women no longer consider public affairs as a field alien to them.

In two years, as part of the new constitution then likely to be before the electorate, the equal suffrage amendment is practically certain to be resubmitted. If the mighty change of sentiment that has occurred in the last six months is any index, it will easily win. The future was never so bright for equal suffrage in New York as this morning.—*The Globe, November 3rd.*

LOSING THE FIRST BATTLE

THE women have lost their first battle in this State by a majority which is sufficiently large to prevent any misunderstanding. It is a straightforward verdict which clearly demonstrates that a large majority of the voters still believe it unwise to extend the right to vote to women.

So far the friends and the opponents of votes for women will agree. But those who have believed that women should vote will find in the total of votes cast for the extension reason for present congratulation and future optimism. A cause which, the first time it is voted upon, enlists hundreds of thousands of voters, may be defeated, but the defeat is no final disposition.

To have said three years ago that a constitutional amendment permitting women to vote could command the number of votes cast for woman suffrage yesterday would have been to excite ridicule and invite derision. Nor is it less plain that each day in the present campaign has seen an accession of strength and an increasing number of converts.

The Evening Journal.

NO GOOD FIGHT IS EVER LOST

"Woman suffrage has not been defeated in this State—only postponed. * * *

"Next to the vote, the best thing for women is intelligent discussion and devoted hard work.

"The postponement of woman suffrage will mean intense interest in public affairs on the part of women, earnest appeals to men which must affect even the dullest of them. * * *

"The women of the State have made an admirable, noble fight. They have set a good example to men, showing unselfish devotion to a cause such as men in politics have never shown."

Woman suffrage has lost its first battle in this State. But the first battle has generally been lost by the champions of any new principle involving a radical change in government.

Look over the history of all our great reforms, and it will be seen that this latest cause has done not ill, but well, in its first test. * * *

There will be no disposition on the part of the losers to charge unfair or dishonest methods on the part of their opponents, or to complain at the obvious hostility of the professional politicians. Not by the professional politicians, but by the voters

DELAYED, NOT DEFEATED

themselves, was the decision rendered. The defeat being square, there is nothing left but to resume the battle.

A good fight has been well fought and lost, but campaigns do not depend on first battles, either in the Great War or in the political combat, and those who believe that anything but the election of 1915 was decided yesterday will find cause to change their view before many months.— *The New York Tribune, November 3rd.*

POSTPONEMENT NOT BURIAL

"THE defeat of woman suffrage in this State, in Massachusetts and in Pennsylvania by heavy majorities is decisive enough for the hour, but by no means conclusive as to the coming future," is the comment of *The New York Sun.* "As in New Jersey a fortnight ago, the total of the male vote polled for equal rights for the other sex is impressive enough to remove this perennial campaign from the category of crank causes and fantastic ideas, and to place it definitely among those political movements which fail under temporary conditions by percentages that signify postponement rather than burial. What would Elizabeth Cady Stanton or Susan B. Anthony have thought a single generation ago of a showing which, like that of yesterday, denoted only a defeat such as is experienced from time to time in these great States by the Democracy at the hands of the Republican party or by Republicans in a Democratic tidal year? Fair-minded observers, whatever their own opinions on the subject, will view yesterday's results in these great Eastern States in relation to that which would have been possible for woman suffrage thirty or twenty or even ten years ago."

ULTIMATE VICTORY CERTAIN

"NATURALLY yesterday's vote will not be accepted by convinced suffragists as a termination of the fight for equal political rights, regardless of sex," says *The Evening Sun.* "By the very spirit in which the women have undertaken the battle they have precluded any possibility of doubt as to the ultimate result. They may be temporarily disheartened, but they will not despair. The year 1915 marks a setback for, not the annihilation of, their hopes."

A CANVASS TO BE PROUD OF

WHILE rejoicing that "the essential American conservatism, the old-fashioned notion of the position and duties of women, prevailed" in the election, *The New York Times* concedes that the women of the Empire State made a good fight for their cause.

"And what new art of persuasion, what argument unused, what means of appeal or conviction have they neglected?" inquires the editor. "They have been admirable campaigners. Their variety of resource, their communicative ardor, their zeal, industry, persistence, their general good temper and their pluck, will be admitted without reserve by the men who voted against their cause. It may almost be said that they had even an unfair advantage. They are engaging champions. They are heard with a deference which the ironical and not too respectful American is far from showing even to his favorite orators and statesmen. The suffragists have made a canvass to be proud of."

SUFFRAGE STRUGGLE BEGINS

THE verdict of the voters of New York on the plea of the women for the right of the franchise does not mark the end of the struggle, but only its beginning. It was the first time that the issue had been submitted to the test of a popular vote in this State. The fact that in this initial encounter with the forces of stand-pattism the women of the State were able to roll up a total vote of 462,292 (*514,198*) is a convincing sign of the virility of the movement.

The intense interest which the women took in the destinies of their cause, the efficiency of their pre-election canvass and the calm philosophy with which both leaders and rank and file took the decision of the electorate in this preliminary stage of the votes-for-women campaign, supply convincing ground for the belief that the new struggle which they have already undertaken to achieve their purposes at the next election will be crowned with ultimate success.

There is nothing new about the movement for equality of the sexes which is manifested by the desire of the women for the ballot. It is only a phase of the long-sustained aspiration which found its inception in the gloom of the cave-dwelling era. In many other respects women have achieved the goal of self-expression. The ballot is as sure to come as the dawn of a to-morrow.— *The Evening Mail, November 3rd.*

ECLIPSED

The Evening Mail.

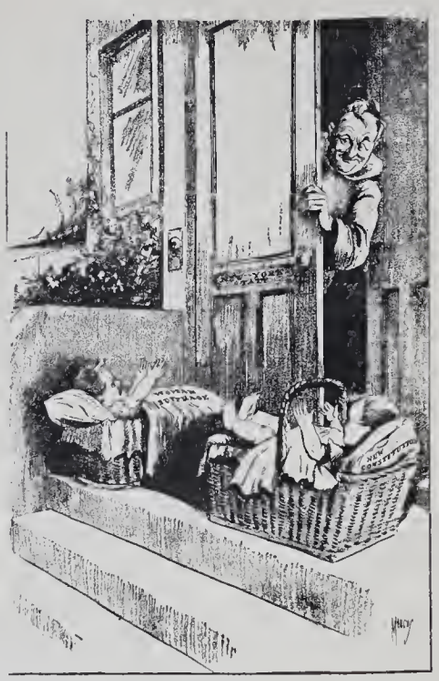
A CAMPAIGN WITHOUT PARALLEL

THE SUFFRAGE DENIAL

A DENIAL and a postponement, not a defeat—that is the result of the voting on woman suffrage yesterday. To expect conservative Eastern States to vote for the extension of the ballot the very first time the subject was presented to the electorate was to look for the impossible. But the result is none the less gratifying. Approximately one million men in three States yesterday recorded their belief that their women fellow-citizens should be taken out of the category of the idiot, the criminal, and the insane. Nothing like it has ever happened before either here or abroad. Never has so large a body of men on the same day voted in favor of the enfranchisement of a disadvantaged class. What could be more encouraging or stimulating? Who would have dared to prophesy even ten years ago that a change of only 30,000 votes would give women the suffrage in so hide-bound a State as Pennsylvania? And when one considers how the advocates of suffrage were berated, or ridiculed, or ignored twenty years ago, there is no ground for discouragement, but every reason for satisfaction and hopefulness. * * *

This short campaign of education has accomplished marvels, when one scans the forces opposed—the naturally timid and conservative, the foreign vote, everybody who fears that woman suffrage means prohibition, the hostile or indifferent politicians. What could be more illuminating than "Tom" Foley's remark on behalf of Tammany this morning: "We have saved the women, poor devils, from themselves"? It is an immortal sentence, one to be quoted by the suffragists till the battle is won. * * *

Never before in the history of the suffrage cause has the President, have the Governors of so many States and so many of the leading men in both parties, upheld it. Never have such multitudes flocked to the polls to support it. Wendell Phillips once said of the anti-slavery cause that it was "an agitation which for the marvel of its origin, the majesty of its purpose, the earnestness and ability of its appeals, the vigor of its assault, the deep national convulsion it caused, the vast and beneficent changes it wrought, and its widespread, indirect influence on all kindred moral questions, is without a parallel in history since Luther." Some day another Wendell Phillips will apply these words to the history of the woman-suffrage movement.—*The Evening Post, November 3rd.*



The New York Times.

WILL HE ADOPT BOTH?

SUFFRAGE VOTE A TRIBUTE TO CAUSE

IT IS needless to urge the devoted women whose gallant fight for suffrage in this and neighboring States ended yesterday in defeat, to take heart, close up their ranks and move on to the ultimate victory that is certain.

No moral issue ever stirred so deeply the voters of New York as the appeal for equal suffrage—and what is true of New York in this respect is equally true of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

To these conservative Eastern commonwealths the proposition that women should enjoy equal political rights with men is novel and revolutionary.

The West, with its broader outlook and greater freedom from antiquated hobbles, long since accepted equal suffrage as the democratic ideal. Twelve Western States now grant full suffrage to women, and not in one of them has any proposition to repeal the suffrage law been agitated.

In most of these States woman won her rights only by repeated appeals to electorates composed wholly of men. In the less radical States of the East the battle has been, and will be, harder. In New York, particularly, a great part of the electorate is almost unreachable by suffrage speakers, and wholly impregnable to suffrage argument.

The plight of the suffrage champion appealing to the great mass of newly qualified voters, to whom any elevation of women to political equality is a thing unthinkable, was obviously a desperate one.

That the vote for the amendment in New York was as great as it now appears is a tribute at once to the merit of the women's cause and to the tact and political skill with which they urged it.

It should be the pride of American suffragists that their campaign has been urged without recourse to any of the methods of sensationalism which brought the British "suffragettes" into international disfavor. Proper publicity and earnest argument have been the American suffragists' weapons, and they have wielded them in such fashion that their foes may dread the outcome of the next struggle.

The suffrage revolution has begun, and will not turn backward.—*The New York American, Nov. 3rd.*

SUFFRAGE ONLY DEFERRED

"Regarding suffrage," commented *The Evening Telegram*, "while the defeat everywhere was decisive, the majority against it in New York was only half that cast against the new constitution.

"The women are not cast down. They will keep on. When next the opportunity offers they will be first at the primary and last at the ballot box, as usual."

ULTIMATE VICTORY CERTAIN

WHAT THE WOMEN DID IN THIS CAMPAIGN

IN THE campaign for woman suffrage and for justice just closed, women have shown marvelous patience, intelligence and industry.

They have taken an interest in politics, as a class, that the men have never taken, as a class.

At the polling places, women stood all day long in the cold wind and in the dust, maintaining their distance from the voting booths, urging the men to consider their claims to fairness, to an equal share in government.

Inside the polling places the women watchers did their duty intelligently, and besides doing their duty they improved the atmosphere of the election considerably. There was more earnestness, less profanity.

The women have proved their capacity for political work of the very best kind and for political organization.

They have proved their understanding of public questions and of government.

They have put to shame the ignorant and the brutal who have seen fit to ridicule the effort of woman to play her part under the government that rules her.

The vote cast for women, far from being small or discouraging, was extraordinary and full of hope.

Not far from half a million men cast their votes in favor of woman suffrage—honor to them, and to the women who have convinced them that the better half of the human race would not be a menace to good government.

Ten years ago it would have been impossible to find fifty thousand men in the State to vote for woman suffrage—they had not thought of it.

And twenty years ago, when the Evening Journal, then beginning its career, advocated votes for women, the suggestion was looked upon as a harmless joke.

But it is a joke no longer. Women have proved by devotion, unselfishness and intelligent organizing power during the last few years that they are equal to men in their understanding of political matters.

They have proved for a thousand centuries that they are superior to men in moral character and in goodness of heart.

And soon, fortunately for this country, women will vote everywhere in the United States.

Honor to the devoted women who have made this CERTAIN.—*The Evening Journal, November 3rd.*

NOT SETBACK BUT SPUR

WOMAN suffrage in this State fought a great fight and a fair fight. It brought to the polls a vote the size of which must impress both its friends and its foes, but most of all the indifferent and those who have belittled its strength.

All that it accomplished, it accomplished by clean, open methods, which should prove an example and an inspiration in any community, however, hardened to the ways and means of practical politics.

The woman suffrage amendment was defeated. But if anything is sure, it is that the suffragists will raise their banners as bravely and buoyantly as ever and press on to the next test.

Already they have shown Eastern States what big things can be done—without the help of party machinery, and against old and formidable party organizations—by earnest, unwavering devotion to a principle.

If, as everybody seems to agree, it was a notably orderly and cheerful election, the reason is not far to seek. The women did it. Even their limited presence as watchers at the polls produced an atmosphere of consideration, politeness and good feeling which gave a new touch to the business of voting.

Smiles and good manners proved an exceedingly pleasant addition to the surroundings of the ballot box. Suffrage has lost for the moment. But what the women did for yesterday's election in this city is no mean argument for the cause.—*The Evening World, November 3rd.*

When lovely, as the poet calls her, woman gets the ballot (1) things will improve, (2) grow worse or (3) remain as they are. One result only are we certain of: there will be a tremendous decline in the postal receipts.

We count that day as a total loss when we fail to receive at least six letters containing suff propaganda.—*F. P. A. in the Tribune*

The Evening Mail.

HE LOVES ME—HE LOVES ME NOT

SAVING THE HOME IN NEW JERSEY

SUFFRAGE RETURNS IN BRIEF

New York received 514,198 favorable votes. The majority against the amendment was 186,000, or 5 to 4.

Pennsylvania received 310,000 favorable votes. The majority against the amendment was 60,000, or 7 to 6.

Massachusetts received 164,505 favorable votes. The majority against the amendment was 132,000, or 2 to 1.

New Jersey received 133,282 favorable votes. The majority against the amendment was 51,018, or 3 to 2.

In the Eastern Campaigns of 1915 Woman Suffrage received a total affirmative vote of **1,121,985.**

AT THE special election of October 19th in New Jersey, the woman suffrage amendment polled 133,282 favorable votes. The vote against the amendment was 184,300, which gave an opposing majority of 51,018.

In no other State was there such open opposition by political machines and liquor interests. Immediately after President Wilson declared his intention of voting for suffrage, Neil Bonner, president of the National Liquor Dealers' Association, said at the Liquor Dealers' Protective League Convention:

"I learn that President Wilson has declared that he will vote in favor of giving the ballot to women. I want to say to you, as president of the liquor dealers of the country, that I intend to vote against giving women the ballot."

The press was practically unanimous with regard to the work of machine politicians in New Jersey. Said the *New York Tribune*.

"New Jersey bosses forgot their political differences and joined in a common cause—that of bringing about the defeat of the suffrage amendment to the New Jersey constitution. Party lines were obliterated and the Republican and Democratic machines hitched up into a bipartisan steam roller which was expected to flatten the suffrage vote into a pancake. * * * The political machines, of course, had the active assistance of the brewers and liquor dealers. Some people said the brewers had the active assistance of the politicians. Anyway, there wasn't a harder working crowd against the suffrage amendment than the State Liquor Dealers' Association. * * *

"Most of the hostile politicians frankly admitted the reason they opposed the granting of the franchise was not because women were incompetent to vote, but because they believed they could not control them as easily as the men."

The *New York Herald* the day after the election said:

"In Essex and Hudson counties, with the political machines in perfect working order and the leaders determined to defeat the suffrage advocates, the vote was enormous, and the words 'Vote Against It' passed along like wildfire, were obeyed."

The *New York Sun* said:

"Another element that entered into the success of the opposition was the activity of the brewers and the saloonkeepers. The liquor interests lined up solidly with the antis, fearing what might happen if the women of New Jersey had the vote."

While the *Newark Evening News* declared:

"It is true that both political machines, with their old allies, the liquor interests, opposed the amendment to the top of their power."

The most strenuous of the bosses in the anti-suffrage fight was Mr. James Nugent, of Newark. Through his efforts a majority of 14,000 opposed was polled in Essex County. His carol of victory is likely to become an historic suffrage document. He said, in part:

"New Jersey leads off in the fight for sane government and national politics, the purity of the home and the protection of her womanhood. * * * This has been a campaign of education, with the leaders of the best citizenship and womanhood of the state appealing to the sober-minded and responsible citizens of New Jersey, on the one hand, and on the other a coterie of imported, hysterical reformers and female politicians attempting to reach the irresponsible and unthinking element of our population. * * *

"I congratulate, first, the women of New Jersey for *what they have escaped*. (Italics supplied.) I congratulate, second, the voting citizens of New Jersey on the good judgment they have shown, guided by their instincts of true patriotism toward the home, the state and the nation."

Mrs. E. Yard Breese, leader of the New Jersey Association, Opposed to Woman Suffrage, caroled with Mr. Nugent, paying the following tribute to the opposition:

"The results are just as we expected," said Mrs. Breese. "The men of New Jersey are thoroughly alive to all that woman suffrage would mean in the state. Our faith in them has been justified, and we feel that this decisive victory, coming after a hard fought campaign, should be a final answer to the suffragists."

The Evening Sun.

STANDING BY THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds, executive secretary of the Women's Political Union of New Jersey, declares that the defeat in New Jersey was due to the effectiveness of the suffrage campaign, which aroused the machines to strenuous opposition. In every section of the State it was the most notorious boss who organized the opposition. Wherever the suffragists worked conspicuously enough to attract attention the bi-partisan machine sent instructions for defeat. For this reason, the great favorable vote was the greatest of all tributes to the effectiveness of the suffrage propaganda.

"Only two things got us that vote," wrote Mrs. Reynolds to the New Republic," the justice of our cause, and the effectiveness of our educational campaign. With no offices to promise, with no franchises or contracts to serve as the rich prizes of success, in the position of a third party with the two dominant parties combined against us, with no votes of our own to cast, we polled more votes than any third party candidate ever polled in this state except Theodore Roosevelt, a national hero. The Socialist party polls 15,000 votes in this state. The Progressives polled 45,000 at the last state election. We polled 132,000." (*Latest official count, 133,282.*)

MAKING A RECORD IN PENNSYLVANIA

PENNSYLVANIA almost carried for suffrage. Thirty-two counties carried by favorable majorities, the total vote in favor being 310,000. The majority against the amendment was only 60,000, or 7 to 6. The defeat was attributed to machine politics in Philadelphia. Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, president of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, described the Pennsylvania campaign in the *Woman's Journal* as follows:

The Keynote of Pennsylvania's work has been organization and centralization. The fact that there has always been only one central body with which every county, every organization in the State has been connected accounts for our political strength. This is not the opinion of women alone, but also of men long experienced in hard campaigns. Whenever any plan has been decided upon our State headquarters, through the proper officer or committee, sends out the word into every county, and to a perfectly marvelous degree every county has done its best to respond. Always doing things together, always doing them at the same time, in the same general way, has had a concentrated effect that has proven inestimable in value. The power of such team work is undeniable.

Another benefit of the one-state body plan is that the efforts of our women locally are not diverted or distracted, and the expenditure of money is not wastefully duplicated. This gives all the people a feeling of confidence in the campaign and the workers. It enables the workers to go ahead with a proposition in confidence without the fearful strain of unnecessary competition. And just as we have had only one State body, so we have constantly urged the suffragists to have only one local organization, making it the kind of body, to be sure, in which every kind of worker could have a place. It is interesting to find that in thirty of the thirty-three counties that we carred there is one central local organization, and in the other three counties the two organizations worked so closely together that they have been one in effect and one in the eye of the public.

ORGANIZATION is our watchword—not just "any kind of an organization," but efficient organization according to a State-wide plan. In the very beginning of our present three years' work we adopted the Woman Suffrage Party plan of organization adapted for State-wide use, and our experience is that there is no form of organization that can compare with it for effectiveness. In the past year over two hundred new organizations have been formed in the State, every one of them according to the inclusive non-dues paying Woman Suffrage Party plan. To my knowledge we have not had a single "club" or "league" or any of the dues-paying kind of organization formed this year, and most of those previously existing have merged with the party organization or served as co-workers. I believe that the large majority of our local workers would never again be satisfied with any kind of organization except the party plan.

—*Kirby in the New York World.*

"WELL, BOYS, WE SAVED THE HOME."

In this twentieth century, with its many complexities forcing systematic and thorough methods upon all those groups who would succeed whether they be labor unions, corporations, schools or suffrage workers, the need for a close knit organization is so fundamental, so primary that the mentioning of it may seem superfluous. Unfortunately it seems still necessary to emphasize to a certain type of suffragist that team work among women is quite as essential as among men—also loyalty to an ideal rather than to a person.

As mentioned above, to our cohesive organization work was directly due our influence with the political parties. In the beginning of our three-year period only two parties had endorsed woman suffrage—the Socialist and Prohibition parties. It was at once evident that we must secure the endorsement of all the parties, if possible. We set to work at this task, with the result that by 1914 the Washington and Democratic parties also had given an outright endorsement of woman suffrage. The Republican party was thus the only party that did not endorse our issue, but it did include in its platform a plank favoring the submission of the question to the voters. In this way it acknowledged the importance of the movement. We have made it a point always to work with each party. Even in the case of the Republican party we tried to make the men feel that there was absolutely no antagonism toward their party and that we were confident that in time their endorsement would be given, too. The result was that in many places the local Republican leaders became suffragists. As long as the men vote so largely along straight party lines it will be necessary for suffragists to secure these party endorsements. The dominant party everywhere, like the Republican party here, is the last to incorporate progressive measures, but by the leverage of the endorsements of all other parties much has been done with the majority party. Before 1920 I believe that the Republican party in Pennsylvania will have written for us the last chapter on party endorsement. * * *

PENNSYLVANIA'S was a quiet campaign. A frequent remark among visitors to our State was that "Pennsylvania's suffragists were not doing anything." They were doing things all the time—but not always things that they shouted about. Doubtless other States had this same kind of visitors. Just here I would like to make it clear that it was not

The Woman's Journal.

WAITING FOR THE RETURNS

primarily because we do not like stunts but because we had studied Pennsylvania and we felt that Pennsylvania would not take kindly to many spectacular events. In addition to parades, we had only two picturesque features—suffrage gardens and the replica of the Liberty Bell. The garden idea was charming in every way. The Liberty Bell was also unique and in general drew the largest crowds of anything that we tried. It was not especially successful in the large places, but was a decided drawing card in the small communities. Both of these features were of value chiefly for publicity. In themselves I do not believe that they landed us many votes. It took patience and reasoning and women and work to do that. Undoubtedly every campaign should have such features, but we should take care that they do not become our main thought to the detriment of the solid work that must also be done. In Pennsylvania our women very wisely gave such features only the proportionate amount of their time and energy, which should be given to such specialties and did not sacrifice the real work of the campaign.

Finally, Pennsylvania's active campaign began three years ago. We planned out a three-year campaign, determining to try to emphasize and encompass certain work each year, to have each step, each year's work, follow logically the preceding plans and to secure a cumulative effect at the end. We tried in every way to avoid the hit-and-miss work of unpreparedness and haste. Our great aim was to have a carefully studied, prepared-for-Pennsylvania, constructive plan for our entire campaign period, then plug away at it faithfully, adapting it to suit conditions as they arose, but holding firmly to essentials. In the last analysis, however, the favorable votes that were cast in Pennsylvania were won by the fine work of our local chairmen and their splendid team work with the State Association. * * *"

BEGINNING DEMOCRACY IN MASSACHUSETTS

IN MASSACHUSETTS, 164,505 votes were cast in favor of woman suffrage. The majority against it was 132,000, or two to one. Interest in the question was so great that the total number of votes cast was 93 per cent. of the total vote for governor.

The influence of the liquor interests was felt strongly in Massachusetts. Pink slips were passed around by the saloon men labeled, "Good for two drinks if woman suffrage is defeated."

The *Springfield Republican* lays the defeat to Eastern conservatism, but regards it as only a temporary delay in the progress of democracy:

"It is the deadly persistence of this cause that insures it against any kind of discouragement. Defeats for fifty years past have failed to suppress it and the latest defeat, or series of defeats, in several Eastern States, can have no effect whatever in killing the movement. The women who furnish the main motive power of agitation are everywhere filled with a conviction, akin to religious fervor, that they must achieve for their sex a higher status in the great commonwealth of democracy. Nothing can prevent their success in the end, unless democracy is doomed to failure. If women can never be given a fair share in government, then government by the people must be regarded as founded on a fallacy, and the sooner that partial government by the people which we now have is discarded the less will be the loss to society in efficiency of administration in future generations."

The Journal declares "there are other days coming," and says:

"Probably many anti-suffragists voted with the conviction that politics isn't fit for women. In that case, politics will be made fit. Others turned down the suffrage amendment because 'woman's place is in the home'—while the number of women in business and industry increases every day. But mostly the opponents of the suffrage amendment voted on principle, the principle that since women never had the ballot they can continue to do without it. Events will educate the opponents of suffrage, and advertising will educate the mugwumps."

The Traveler prophesies that:

"The goal of the suffragists is not yet in sight, but the principle for which they strive will triumph, because it is the principle of eternal truth and justice."

Brinkerhoff in the Evening Mail.

THE ANSWER

ELECTION RETURNS

EVERY effort was made to secure official returns in detail for New York for this issue of *The Woman Voter*. The official count, however, has not been tabulated for many country districts. The returns for Greater New York have not yet been published in correct form.

In order that members of the Woman Suffrage Party may have the correct and final returns, we shall publish the count by Assembly Districts in the January issue of The Voter.

THE present figure used by the daily papers and checked as far as possible by records at the Board of Elections is: *For the suffrage amendment, 514,198; against the amendment, 700,198*—leaving a majority against of 186,000.

The drive forward in the suffrage fight shows that the popular vote of New York State alone amounts to about the same figure as that for the nine enfranchised states which gained equal suffrage through a referendum to the people. Exclusive of Utah, Wyoming and Illinois, all of which were enfranchised by legislative or constitutional acts, the enfranchised states polled 534,173. New York's vote is within a few thousands of this.

The total vote for and against suffrage in the nine enfranchised states was less than the total vote for suffrage in the four campaign states in 1915 by from 50,000 to 100,000.

New York's favorable vote was bigger than New Jersey's total registered electorate. It was bigger than Ohio's vote against suffrage in 1914. It was bigger than Michigan's two polls against suffrage in 1912 and 1913. It was bigger by 100,000 than the adverse poll of Nebraska and Missouri together in 1914.

The total popular vote for suffrage in 1915 was greater by 350,000 than that of 1914. That is, New Jersey's entire vote for and against suffrage might be taken out of this year's poll without the popular demand for woman's enfranchisement having fallen back an inch.

DO YOU KNOW?

That over half a million men in New York State voted for suffrage; five times as many, that is to say, as make up the whole United States army?—Alice Duer Miller, in *New York Tribune.*

ARE THE MEN OF NEW YORK GOOD SPORTS?

"NEW YORKERS have been proud of having first place in the presidential election returns," said Mrs. Antoinette Funk, of Chicago. "On presidential election night you sat up till daybreak getting the returns from New York. When you found how New York was 'going,' you went home and went to bed and to sleep, thinking you had saved or lost the country. Do you know, men of New York, that you won't have first place on election night after this until you give your women the right to vote with you. Illinois will beat you hands down. Chicago now has more voters than New York City. That fact was demonstrated in our last elections. On April 6, 1915, Chicago voted 669,891 men and women. In the gubernatorial elections of 1914 New York City voted only 481,444 men. In the presidential election of 1912, you voted 627,864 men. If in a mayoralty election Chicago can beat New York anywhere from 40,000 to nearly 200,000 at the polls, what do you think we will do in a presidential election?

"There are about 4,000,000 women in suffrage states who will vote at the next presidential election. Now, just don't forget that Woodrow Wilson polled, altogether, less than 7,000,000 votes in 1912. His plurality was only about half the number of the voting women of the country. We won't change the *number* of electoral votes in my state for president next year, but we can very well change the denomination of those votes. It's quite conceivable that we can ultimately settle which party shall carry Illinois, and 29 electoral votes either way will make a big showing in the electoral college. The equal suffrage states have 91 electoral votes. This is 17 per cent. of the whole number of votes, and more than a third of the necessary majority. It may be that women's votes will determine the choice of president in these United States in 1916.

"It is certain that the balance of power is not going to rest in the East any more. It is going to rest in Illinois, to whose popular vote New York's will come second. Your total vote for president of the United States in 1912 was 1,587,983. The total vote in Illinois was 1,146,103. If the increase in Illinois can be gauged by the last elections, it ought to be more than one-half again as large as that in 1916, when its men and women both vote. This will give Illinois 1,719,154 voters (a larger vote than New York State ever cast). Illinois alone—not New York—may settle the national parties of the United States, which is equivalent to saying national politics."

The Evening Sun

THE SPIRIT OF 1915

REORGANIZATION CONVENTION

THE Reorganization Convention of the Empire State suffragists will take place on November 30th, December 1st and 2nd, at the Hotel Astor, New York. The organizations participating are those which composed the Empire State Campaign Committee—the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, the Woman Suffrage Party, the Equal Franchise Society, the Collegiate League and the Men's League for Equal Suffrage.

The occasion is also the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, and its president, Mrs. Raymond Brown, says:

"This will be one of the most important conventions ever held in the history of suffrage in New York State.

"We have gone into the enemy's country and taken a large part of his territory. We have put up a tremendous campaign, and have won our half a million men for suffrage. What we have gained can never be lost. So far, we are solidly entrenched. It remains now for us to take the last citadel of prejudice.

"One of the most important things that the State suffrage convention has before it is the reorganization, or rather the permanent consolidation of all the suffrage forces of the State.

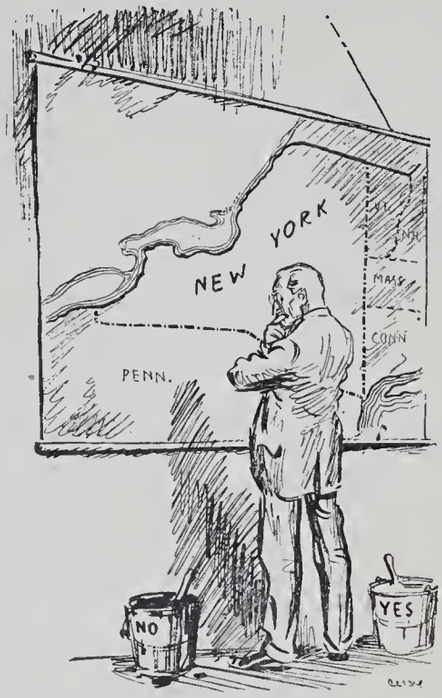
"Two years ago the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, the Equal Franchise League, the Collegiate League and the Men's League joined their forces under the name of the Empire State Campaign Committee, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as chairman. Our two years' experience of the Empire State Campaign Committee has proved that such a union of forces makes for economy and efficiency. Under the Campaign Committee the organization of the State by Assembly Districts, which had already been adopted by the State Association, has continued, and that organization now extends into every county, so that the city and state are organized along exactly the same lines.

"When I became President of the State Association, two years ago, the different organizations were proud of their own identity. Our two years of working together in the Campaign Committee have convinced us that maintaining lines of demarcation of the different associations is foolish and wasteful, and all the organizations forming the Campaign Committee are anxious to see the combination and centralization of all the forces in the Campaign Committee made permanent.

"It is likely that the old State Association, which has existed for fifty years, will be merged in the larger organization, and that the entire official board of the State Association will become one with the Executive Board of the larger organization. This does not mean that any one of the women who have worked so splendidly in the recent campaign will withdraw from the work. It only means that some of the offices will be dropped, as at present they duplicate each other. All over the State word has come that every woman who was active in the recent campaign will stay in the fight till the finish.

"The work of the different associations during the entire campaign has been most harmonious, and the team work and loyalty has been remarkable. With the splendid army of women who have worked together the last two years, and with a number of new workers, we face our new campaign with a largely increased force, with a fine harmony, and an invaluable experience."

BLACK OR WHITE?



The Sun.

IT'S UP TO THE VOTER

PROGRAM

HOTEL ASTOR, BROADWAY AT 45th ST.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH

10.00 A. M. Meeting of the State Executive Committee, including all Officers, Board of Directors, Assembly District Leaders and the Campaign District Chairmen.

2.00 P. M. Convention called to order.

Preliminary report of the Credential Committee. Report of the Chairman of the Empire State Campaign Committee.
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Report of the Treasurer of N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Association.
MRS. EDWARD M. CHILDS.

Report of the Treasurer of the Campaign Committee.
MRS. CHARLES L. TIFFANY.

Report of the Executive Board, presenting the plan of reorganization.
President's Address.
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN.

8.00 P. M. "The Ruling Power," the new suffrage photo-play, will be put on at a nearby theatre.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1ST

10.00 A. M. Executive Session.

Discussion and adoption of plans for reorganization as recommended by the Executive Committee.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Final Report of Credential Committee.

12.00 M. Primary for election of officers.

2.00 P. M. The Lessons of the Campaign.
PRESENTED BY THE CAMPAIGN DISTRICT CHAIRMEN.

4.00 P. M. Pledges and money-raising.

4.30 P. M. Auction of choice articles from the Melting Pot.
MISS GRACE FILKINS, *Auctioneer.*

7.30 P. M. Banquet—Hotel Astor—

Testimonial to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

(Tickets, $2.50. Apply to Mrs. John Blair, 8 East 37th Street.)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2ND

10.00 A. M. Executive Session.

Press and Publicity—Past and future.
CONFERENCE LED BY MISS ROSE YOUNG.

12.00 M. Election of Officers.

2.00 P. M. Executive Session.

Our New Campaign.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3RD

10.00 A. M. Meeting of Executive Committee.

Unfinished business.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will take place in Washington, D. C., December 14th-19th. This will be one of the most important gatherings ever held in the history of the suffrage movement. With the large favorable vote on the suffrage amendment in the four campaign States this fall, with a vigorous campaign for the Federal amendment, which the National Association is pushing, as it has for forty-five years, the questions and problems which confront the delegates are of the greatest importance. Something of the spirit of the coming convention is voiced in the Call to the Convention, which reads in part:

"We shall come together at our Forty-seventh Annual Convention larger in numbers, more united in spirit, and more assured of early success for nation-wide suffrage than ever before. We urge our affiliated-member associations to send full delegations to the Convention, that we may learn from each other's experiences, be inspired by the courage, the sympathy and counsel of fellow-workers, and that our future plans and work may be guided by conclusions reached in full and free conferences as to their wisdom and efficiency.

"The National American Woman Suffrage Association is a democratic body governed by the votes of the representatives of all its affiliated associations. At its Annual Convention the work of the past year will be fully reported, the plans and policies for the coming year agreed upon, and the leaders of the National Association chosen for the coming year.

"We shall gather in convention this year with renewed zeal and inspiration, rejoicing that the long struggle for the new freedom for women is nearing an end. Public opinion for equal suffrage has increased a hundred-fold in this fateful year. It seems borne in upon the most conservative that it is only a matter of time when nation-wide political freedom will be granted to women as an inevitable outcome of our Democracy, and the last step in the great experiment of self-government."

The New Willard Hotel has been chosen as Convention headquarters. The Ebbitt House, opposite, is a secondary headquarters for the accommodation of delegates. All sessions of the Convention will be held at the New Willard Hotel, with the exception of the one large mass meeting for Sunday afternoon, December 19th, at Poli's Theatre. Announcement will be made of the speakers later.

Evening conferences for the delegates will be substituted this year for the usual mass meetings. The large meetings had formally been planned for the enlightenment of the general public. The National Board felt, however, that this year the Washington public was not in need of such meetings, and has arranged, instead, a series of conferences, which will not be open to the public. Some of the subjects to be discussed at this time are publicity, campaign methods, congressional work and congressional district organizations, suffrage literature, and the expediency of partial suffrage measures.

The National College Equal Suffrage League will hold its annual Council Meeting and subscription luncheon on Saturday, December 18th, at the New Willard Hotel.

Besides the usual social features which are being planned by the Committee on Arrangements, there will be personally conducted tours to Congress and the government buildings. Members of the Washington Branch of the College League and the Washington Woman Suffrage Council will be on hand to serve as guides to small groups of delegates during the hours when there are no sessions.

Further information with regard to the Convention arrangements may be obtained by writing to Mrs. Raymond B. Morgan, Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

WITH OUR ALLIES—THE ANTIS

For the best anti-suffrage "pearl" sent to this office before December 15th we will give a year's subscription to *The Woman Voter*. The Advisory Committee and *The Voter* editorial staff will act as judges. The gems on this page have won us converts where suffrage arguments fail.

PASTE PEARLS

PRIZE PEARL

"We have saved the women, poor devils, from themselves."—Tom Foley, November 3rd, 1915.

JEWELS FROM THE ELM TREE MONTHLY

"The brain-stem of woman is relatively larger; the brain mantle and basal ganglia are smaller; the upper half of the spinal cord is smaller, the lower half which controls the pelvis and limbs is much larger. These are structural differences which underlie definite differences in the two sexes. I do not say that they will prevent a woman from voting, but they will prevent her from ever becoming a man, and they point the way to the fact that woman's efficiency lies in a special field and not that of political initiative or of judicial authority in a community's organization."

* * * * *

"Men are three times more addicted to drugs and alcohol and ten times more the sufferers from blood infection and the accidents that come from an extra-domiciliary life than women. Despite this, there are practically no more cases of insanity among men than among women. In fact, women are rather more subject than men to the pure psychoses. If women achieve the feministic ideal and live as men do they would incur the risk of 25 per cent. more insanity than they have now."

* * * * *

"I am not saying that woman suffrage will make women crazy. I do say that woman suffrage would throw into the electorate a mass of voters of delicate nervous stability. We would double our vote, double the expense of elections and add to our voting and administrative forces the biological element of an unstable preciosity, which might do injury to itself without promoting the community's good."

* * * * *

"Measured by fair rules of intelligent testing, I should say that the average zealot in the cause has about the mental age of eleven. They look through a cranny and see a dazzling illumination, beyond which is to them the light of a new Heaven, when it is really only the sublimation of an unoccupied *élan vital*. Yet they consider everyone who does not believe with them to be unintelligent, so I suppose that they will class the writer as such."

* * * * *

"Woman does not think, she feels; she does not reason, she emotionalizes; she does not believe, she knows."

* * * * *

"Is it not a sufficient political achievement for woman that future rulers nurse at her breast, laugh in her arms and kneel at her feet? Can ambition leap to more glorious heights than to sing lullabies to the world's greatest geniuses, chant melodies to master minds and rock the cradle of human destiny?"

* * * * *

"The theories of woman suffrage are very plausible, but the results are not what they promise. Men always can and do out-vote women, so that women are beaten before they start for the polls, even if they voted solidly for a set of candidates. Influence is still their best weapon."

* * * * *

"It seems to me," says Miss Gilder, "that it is a bigger feather in a woman's cap—a brighter jewel in her crown—to be the mother of a George Washington than to be a member of Congress from the 32d District."

* * * * *

"There will be no home life," she says, "if the father and mother are both at the primary or at the convention. We shall have women 'heelers' and women 'bosses.' There will be 'girls' of the Fourth Ward (when it comes to New York) as well as the 'boys'."

CHESTERTONIANS

"From the first tremendous fountains of life every man knows that nearly everything around him is female. The blankets on the bed, the cushion in the drawing room, are more like his mother than his father. The walls are hung with curtains, and they are soft and swishing like his mother's skirts. He would be (even at an early age) considerably surprised to find the walls hung with his father's trousers. All the female things are gigantic things—for children."

* * * * *

"Now the root reason at the bottom of all male aversion to Feminism is an aversion to the great things of our childhood growing small. A boy does not want his mother to despise what he has adored. He remembers when the kitchen was a cavern of goblins; he will not have the kitchen called a place for sluts and slaves."

* * * * *

"Whether or not woman needs to be domestic, there is no sort of doubt that a man wants her to be."

* * * * *

"Nausicaa washed white linen in a river, but none called her a washerwoman. She was an epic. The Lady of Shalott plied her needle, but none called her a needlewoman. She was in a poem. Now the real issue between those who think as I do and those who do not is really simple. Shall we go on and make an epic of the washing day? Shall we go on and make the needle mightier than the sword? Or shall we fall back on the ballot box—the ballot box, in which all is lost, even sex?"

WHAT THE ANTIS THINK OF WOMEN

"The question of woman's mental and physical inferiority does have something, nay everything, to do with her equal right to vote, for this right connotes the right to rule. To say the weaker should exercise authority equally with the stronger is illogical and utterly absurd."—*F. C. Locke, Monticello, N. Y.*

"Do most people realize the predominance of grafters in a matinee audience made up almost entirely of women? It is a common habit among these audiences to secure, by bribing the usher, a seat more expensive and advantageous than they have paid for at the box office."—*Annie Nathan Meyer.*

"There is no enemy of woman greater than woman herself. A woman is relentless when it comes to her own sex."—*Edward Bok.*

"I consider women more powerful unarmed. Sex is their mighty weapon."—*Henry Watterson.*

"A strong boy could print all the daily papers required by the intelligent ladies of Washington."

THE FINAL DRIVE

Adaline W. Sterling

THE first engagement of the campaign is over—we didn't get all the votes we needed, but we gained a great moral victory. We have advanced the suffrage cause forty-two per cent. into the hostile territory, and our trenches are comfortably occupied by over half a million of voters. We have demonstrated beyond a doubt that suffrage is coming, and coming soon, at that.

Event followed event so rapidly in the fortnight preceding election that those engaged therein knew only their own particular job. Hence this record of activity, not only of our own edification, but for the enlightenment of our opposing sisters, for frail, "anti" nature is prone to forgetfulness.

AT CARNEGIE HALL

THE first events which loom up are those two wonderful meetings at Carnegie Hall, rallies in the true sense of the word. Red fire outside, every seat filled inside, and scores standing where the fire regulations permitted. When Miss Mary Garret Hay, "our Mary," led the procession of speakers on the stage at the first meeting, the entire audience rose in wild enthusiasm, and cheers and applause greeted Miss Hay, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, the intrepid leaders of a gallant fight. When it came to the speeches, Congressman Mondell, Senator Borah and Mayor Mitchel won rounds of applause. So, too, did those staunch representatives of genuine democracy, Dr. Anna Shaw and Dudley Field Malone. These two disclosed the source of their spiritual kinship, Dr. Shaw by recalling that she came here by way of Castle Garden sixty-four years ago, and Mr. Malone by stating proudly that such ancestors about which he had reliable information landed, not at Plymouth Rock, but at Castle Garden.

The second meeting repeated all the features of the first. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt presided, and in the opening address struck the keynote of enthusiasm. Congressman Keating and Mrs. Philip Snowden carried the note still higher, and the fiery eloquence of Rabbi Wise united the strains with his own in a prophetic chord of victory.

THE PARADE

COMING between these two meetings was the parade, surpassing its predecessors in numbers, picturesque detail, management and impressive effect. Never before has New York seen such a suffrage parade, and only once before has it been exceeded in numbers, and that was the Sound Money outpouring of 1896. But that march had only principle and numbers to make it memorable; in other respects one remembers only serried ranks of derby hats and dark suits, broken by uniformed bands.

But the suffrage parade had not only numbers and principle, but it had, as well, color everywhere, in flags, banners, sashes, hatbands and pennants. Sometimes the campaign colors, blue, white and yellow flashed forth; sometimes the tri-colored City Flag, or the red, white and blue of the National Ensign, or the purple, white and green of the Political Union; but the background was always the yellow of the Woman Suffrage Party, so that all the hues seemed floating in sunlight.

Two o'clock on the afternoon of October 23d saw, at Washington Square and on the side streets below Fourteenth Street, the various divisions falling into position. The sun did its duty and shone brightly, but the wind was freakish and cool toward suffrage. That didn't make a bit of difference; the women were in dead earnest; they were out for a principle, and they waited about, like Mary's little lamb, until their turn to fall in did appear. Meanwhile decorated automobiles were speeding to and fro, bringing last things and last instructions. Bands of the waiting divisions now and then played one-steps, to which some of the younger marchers performed some unclassified steps. Fortunate ones were regaled with hot coffee by friends from houses near by, while the rest depended upon their inward enthusiasm for relief from the wind which blew across from Jersey.

Promptly at the appointed time the bugles sounded the advance, and the great procession started up Fifth Avenue, the Seventh Regiment band coming behind the platoon of mounted police, and followed in turn by the grand marshal, Miss Ethel Stebbins. The International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, led by Mrs. Catt, its president, formed the first group, and gave the spectators the first object-lesson as to the extent of suffrage in foreign lands. Then a double line of magnificent-looking women, six abreast, represented our own twelve enfranchised States. Behind them came New York, impersonated by Edith Wynne Matthison.

As group after group passed the spectators, who packed the sidewalks and often overflowed into the

"QUAND MÊME!"

Sarrett in the New York Tribune.

roadway, showed increasing interest, and when Dr. Anna Shaw, "too proud to ride," marched along with sprightly step, the crowd broke into a cheer.

On the marchers came, women who were born when suffrage itself was young, women of every age and condition, mistress and maid trudging along side by side, public school teachers five thousand strong, private school teachers, college women in cap and gown, professional women and working women, clubs of colored women, representatives from the Society of Friends, delegations from every county in the State, from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and a splendid turnout of New Jersey suffragists deserving every cheer given them.

The Woman Suffrage Party constituted the major part of the parade, and marched according to boroughs, Manhattan leading, with Mrs. Laidlaw at the head, followed by Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond, under the respective leaderships of Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Henrietta Speke-Seeley, Mrs. Alfred J. Eno and Mrs. William G. Willcox. Closing the procession was that noble body of men, representing every class—The Men's League.

The shades of night had already fallen before the parade ended, but still the spectators remained densely packed on the sidewalks, their interest undiminished, though the wind grew steadily colder.

The Times said of us: "The parade was an immense success." Mrs. Dodge said of us: "The parade was most interesting. Its organizers are to be congratulated upon the success of their efforts." Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, as a result of recently acquired discretion, said—nothing. The president of the Guidon Club said: "I think the public is opposed to women marching, as it is to their speaking on street corners."

Police estimates of between a million and a million and a half of this same public watching the parade proves the correctness of the lady's supposition.

STREET MEETINGS AND OTHER MEETINGS

WHEN it comes to street meetings, well, for the last fortnight they were really too numerous to mention. There were hundreds every day in the five boroughs. Brooklyn, the home of the annual Sunday school parade, where women shamelessly march at the head of their classes in broad daylight, held a ten hours' meeting at Borough Hall, where from the steps a steady relay of speakers addressed a vast throng of the violently opposed public, which simply wouldn't go home. On the same day Manhattan entertained a reluctant public with a twelve hours' suffrage presentation at Fortieth Street and Fifth Avenue. When Miss Rose Bower's bugle sounded the call to order, there was a throng twenty-five deep around the automobile, and it trebled before the first speaker had ended. Throughout the twelve hours the crowd never lessened, but listened eagerly to Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Laidlaw, Collector Malone and others.

Then we tempered the location of meetings to these sensitive public lambs by giving them suffrage along with theatrical amusement. Through the assistance of Miss Lillian Russell, we had a Theatre Gala Night in six playhouses, where dozens of boxes adorned with suffrage colors contained suffrage hostesses and distinguished guests, and where suffrage appeals were made between the acts. Brooklyn also had a tremendous rally at the Academy of Music, and packed the house from parquet to topmost gallery.

Then there was the twenty-six-hour last-stand at Columbus Circle, where devoted women talked around the clock with two hours thrown in as good measure. Speaking began at ten-thirty p. m., with Mrs. Laidlaw to give the send-off. With Mrs. A. G. Hughston as chaperon from midnight to daylight, an inexhaustible supply of speakers relieved one another at half-hour intervals, members of the Men's League aiding during the small morning hours. Columbus Circle, which never sleeps, contributed an audience of fifteen hundred at the start, and provided a shifting crowd of hearers through the night, and rolled up the numbers again when morning did appear.

The mass meeting at Madison Square was the picturesque finale of the fortnight's work. A big platform on the east side of the Park furnished accommodation for speakers, guests and the hundred members of the Beethoven Symphony Orchestra, who played valiantly against a stiff breeze, which fairly whirled the notes through the air. Robert Maitland, of the London Opera Company, Charles Bowes and Miss Caroline Ortmann offered up their voices as soloists. Dr. Katherine Davis, the voteless head of a small army of voters, was the first speaker; Ralph Folks appeared in place of Borough President Marks, and J. Stitt Wilson, ex-mayor of Berkeley, California, created a sensation by utterly demolishing the statements of Col. Irish, who claimed to represent the mayor's state at the anti meeting at Carnegie Hall.

The last rallies were like Patti farewells, for a second took place at the Park on Sunday evening. It was truthfully designated as a sort of spiritual suffrage meeting. It opened with the singing of "America," to which the pastor of the church op-

The Evening Sun

"YOUR CASE WILL BE SETTLED TOMORROW"

posite objected, not to the hymn itself perhaps, but to the volume of sound raised by two thousand voices. We obligingly sang no more until the congregation of sixty-eight left the church portal when we raised our voices in "My Old Kentucky Home," to speed them on their way. Two soldiers of the church militant, the Rev. Waldo Amos and the Rev. Allen McCurdy, gave the spiritual note in addresses of practical common-sense Christianity, and then we sang "Onward Christian Soldiers."

It was left to Miss Rose O'Neill to give the spirited note to the evening in an animated account of the anti meeting the night before. From her inimitable description of the dignitaries who adorned the platform of Carnegie Hall we learned that the opposition is an "old man's war," and Miss O'Neill gave an amusing version of the downfall of Rome because the Roman matrons went to the Forum on a vote asking expedition and bothered the "conscript fathers, whatever they were." It was great.

Positively the last rally took place from the same platform on Monday afternoon and evening with Mrs. Raymond Brown, Miss Alice Carpenter, Herbert Parsons and Rabbi Wise among the speakers.

It would not be fair to its ingenious projector to omit the invasion of the subway by the "lap board ladies," as the guards called them. Because the suffragists were refused advertising space on the trains by the contractors, and the Public Service Commission could offer no redress, a band led by Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse traveled for two afternoons on underground trains, each woman seated herself directly under the *accepted* anti ads and displayed a series of big cards bearing answers to the signs overhead.

The New York American.

SHE HAS JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT!

ELECTION DAY

HUNDREDS of women arose before daybreak on November 2d and in the dim light threaded their way to their respective assignments as pickets and watchers at the polls. Milkmen making their rounds looked first in astonishment at the hurrying women, then when they comprehended their errand they shouted encouragement and a promise to be along with their vote later on.

For now and all time a fearful bogey has been laid. Those sinks of iniquity, the polling places, proved themselves to be harmless barber shops, laundries, tailor shops, and, not the least cheerful, a few undertakers' establishments. Those ogres who officiate on election boards turned out to be very human individuals, anxious to extend every courtesy to the women. In only two or three instances did a solitary man resent the appearance of a woman watcher, then the rest of the men attended to his case. It was all clean, decent and orderly, and the "mire" was conspicuous by its absence. Where watchers were lacking, the men felt aggrieved and slighted, and the inspectors on their rounds had to explain that no discrimination was intended, that the demand exceeded the supply.

Every watcher had her own tale to tell of interesting experience; all were unanimous concerning the consideration shown them. It didn't take the women long to get the hang of things, and their quiet dignified behavior brought them offers of friendly help to keep the record for them if they went out for a breath of air. The men saw to it that the women were provided with lunch, and they also furnished boxes of candy and fruit to sustain them between times.

Inspectors in automobiles made regular rounds and had friendly chats with political captains and gained much practical knowledge. The policemen had time on their hands because everything was so orderly, and recognizing well known faces in many of the cars came up too for a word. Everything was pleasant and everybody was courteous except the small boys who climbed all over the cars and yelled their requests for buttons.

Then back to headquarters when the polls were closed, and the returns were coming in. Disappointment was mitigated by the consciousness of the brave fight we had made, and that we had polled votes enough to be an object of serious future consideration. No wonder then that when late in the evening Mrs. Catt asked "Who are ready to begin another campaign?" A hundred voices answered "I!"

The Woman Suffrage Party has pledged $25,000 to the Empire State Campaign Fund. Send your contributions to the Treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, 317 West 74th Street.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND DEMOCRACY

I BELIEVE in woman suffrage because I believe in Democracy. In the last analysis every anti-suffragist I have ever talked with has but a faltering faith in democracy.

They all dread universal suffrage because "we shall never be able to educate the ignorant vote." I welcome universal suffrage just because I hail this obligation to educate the ignorant vote. While "society" women are expressing these fears, it should be noted that we are making much greater progress in educating the so-called working women than the women of "Fifth Avenue," who are a problem indeed.

They point to mistakes in our past as the result of such democracy as we have had. "More votes more mistakes," they argue. As I view it, the good ship Democracy having pushed off from the shores of Monarchy needs the help of all hands to make the voyage a success. But we are told that the women should be merely passengers, and permitted to do no more active work than praying for the success of the voyage. I say they should be ordered to help mend sails, pull on a rope or an oar, or scrub deck without regard to whether they wish it themselves or not.

We once had a large contingent of men passengers who did not a stroke of work on shipboard. We simply said "Fie" to them, and they fell to work.

While I believe woman's best sphere is in the home and as a mother, I see no sense in the argument that she can go to church fifty-two times a year so far forgetting her sex as to perform the unwomanly act of depositing money in the contribution plate, but she must not go once a year to deposit a ballot in the polling booth.

It is idle to say that her influence is the same if she does not vote. On the contrary, unless she has the vote her political energy is very near the zero point.

While this fear of the ignorant vote dominates the anti-suffrage mind, a movement is on foot establishing in every public school in this country some form of democracy, so that having learned, by actually sharing in the management and discipline of the school, co-operative self-government, the young woman approaches the ballot with a due sense of responsibility. There is no mystery about this method of teaching. It simply utilizes the time-honored method of learning by doing.

Until all our children are educated in the true meaning of democracy the great democratic experiment cannot be said to have been thoroughly tried.

RICHARD WELLING

WHAT WOMEN DO WITH THE VOTE

Seven out of the nine bills recommended by the women in Illinois since they secured the franchise have been passed. These seven bills are: Compelling every husband to support his wife and children; the suppression of disorderly houses; abolition of fining system when dealing with women offenders; State care for the feeble-minded; raising the age of consent from 16 to 18 years; compulsory birth registration; better care of the blind, and punishment of adults causing crime or delinquency among children. And the suffragists believe that the next Legislature, when the women will vote, will do even better for them than the present one has.

CALIFORNIA VOTERS

THE Director of the Efficiency Department of the City of Los Angeles, Jesse D. Burke, says:

"It is, of course, commonly known that so far as voting is concerned the women of California have met their responsibility quite as completely and intelligently as the men. Perhaps it is not so generally known that the interest and activity of our women has in a remarkable way been maintained between election times. In my work as Director of the Efficiency Department during the past year, I have noted with great satisfaction that the women have shown a very clear grasp of the fact that the real success or failure of their government depends not so much upon pre-election pledges and party enthusiasm as upon the thousands of things which are done or left undone during the 365 days between election times. The women have shown in a remarkable degree a resolution to know something definite about the conditions that surround their homes, that determine the health and happiness of citizens, that make the city a clean, safe, attractive place in which to live or the contrary. The women here have accepted seriously their responsibility as citizens and have been ready to give intelligent support to officials who merit such support, or intelligent criticism to officials whose service falls below a reasonable standard of efficiency."

A WORD FROM DETECTIVE BURNS

"In my twenty-five years' work in the cities of this country, work which has taken me into the thick of affairs," said Detective William J. Burns, in a recent suffrage speech, "I have seen that the suffragists, while working for the ballot, are also promoting good citizenship. My experience in detecting criminals has convinced me that universal suffrage is necessary to bring about many needed reforms. When suffrage comes you will select from among your number the women best qualified for public work, and they will make the cities fit places for the children to grow up in. I wish I could put the 'white slave' problem into the hands of a selected group of women in this city whom I could name and give them the power that men have. They would soon clean it up."

DAN BEARD ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BECAUSE it hurts one's head to think, we men seldom try it. For this reason it is difficult for me to write upon the question of woman suffrage, but to be fair with myself, the difficulty may come from the fact that ever since I have been able to think at all there has been no question in my mind about the justice of giving women the vote. It has appeared to me a self-evident fact, an axiom that required no argument to prove.

For purely business reasons I want women to have a voice in the making of our laws; for I realize that any day some boob driving an automobile may put me out of the way, in which case it will devolve upon my wife to take charge of the family, feed and clothe the children, and give them an education. In such a situation a woman is compelled to work under the same conditions as a man. Consequently, she should have the same privileges, or rather, I should say, the same rights as a man. She should have a voice in the making of the laws under which she is compelled to work.

It was evidently the intention of our ancestors, when they chucked the tea overboard into Boston Harbor, to throw with it all the Old World superstitions and vested injustice.

The silly ban upon women's intelligence and stigma upon her character which placed her in the class of little children or those of arrested development, was unmolested by our ancestors because there was no one at that time to point out the absurdity of the thing. Otherwise the stigma would have been removed and thrown overboard with the tea.

Official Photographer of the Women Suffragists
EDWARD F. FOLEY 383 Fifth Avenue at 36th Street

A LETTER TO AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

New York Zoological Park, 185th Street and Luthern Boulevard.

My Dear Mr. ——:

You and I have similar interests in all matters of State and country and we should have the same views on that most important question—the enfranchisement of the other half of the people.

The fact that we differ on this question is evidence that one of us is wrong. If I am wrong, I want to be convinced that I am, if I am right, I want others to be right. The enfranchisement of half of the people of this country or this State is not a trifling matter.

I believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. ALL the governed. I believe in a government by the people, ALL the people. I do not believe that one-half of the people have the moral right to prevent the other half from voting. I believe that all people, regardless of sex, equally enjoy the blessings of good government or suffer the effects of bad government and should be held equally responsible and have equal voice in the maintaining of the government.

I believe that a woman who has not enough interest in her city, State, or country to want to vote is no better than a man of this type. But a woman who wants all women prohibited from doing their duty as citizens in order that she may have an excuse to evade her duty, is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a good government which she refuses to help maintain.

A foreigner in this country, six months in some States, a year to five years in others, can pretend allegiance to this country, if a male, may vote or occupy almost any office, yet most of them admit that if their country should declare war against this, right or wrong, they would not take up arms against the country which they refuse to live in. While an American born person who has the good of this country warmly at heart, is not allowed a voice in the government, if female.

Any person of legal age and sound mind, no matter whether eligible for military duty or not; no matter whether capable of holding the meanest public office or not, may vote if *male.* No matter how public-spirited, educated and qualified to serve the country in any way, if *female,* is not allowed a voice in the government.

You will say that it is not expedient! Since the days of "Boss Tweed," so far as I can remember, almost every important public work has been steeped in graft. This is made possible largely by the fact that grafting contractors control a large, ignorant vote, which has only selfish interests, to vote for officials who will promote grafting. The women corresponding to this class of men are much fewer in number, and what there are would not take enough interest to vote. While the masses of women who are patriotic, public-spirited and honest, would combine with the men of this type and create a majority on the side which is usually in the minority.

Every intelligent woman who has public spirit enough to want to vote has a choice of candidates whether she can vote or not. Why has she not a right to express that choice where it will be counted the same as one of a different sex?

Men did not have to ask a majority of women if they might vote, nor even a majority of men. The right to vote is an inalienable right and no division of people have a moral right to deny others the same right which they enjoy, even if they have the power to do so.

We men ought to be ashamed that our mothers, wives and daughters have to beg and plead for fifty years for what is their natural right from a point of justice. How long will they have to keep up this begging—how many months, how many years?

Let us show honesty and fairness and manhood, and let every person who has public spirit stand for woman suffrage in this State.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. BEERBOWER

WOMAN BOOKS OF THE YEAR

The Story of a Pioneer

The greatest suffrage book of the year is Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's **Story of a Pioneer.** It is the record of an amazingly varied and interesting career, told with that vividness and charm which has made Dr. Shaw famous as a speaker. It is the story of one American woman, but it is an epitome of the spirit of all women pioneers. The events are colored by Dr. Shaw's personality, nevertheless they represent the struggles of thousands of women in this century.

The early effort to maintain life in the wilderness and wrest a living from nature, the passionate struggle for an education, and the final heroic entrance into a new profession, the life of a woman minister in a small community, the enlarging career of a temperance lecturer, ending with a merging into the great struggle of American women for their enfranchisement—these chapters of Dr. Shaw will go into the record of women's achievements in the twentieth century.

To those who shared in the suffrage campaign of 1915, the story of early campaigns with Susan B. Anthony will be especially interesting. Particularly touching are the intimate stories of "Aunt Susan," the beloved leader whom the new and younger generation of suffragists can know only through such memories as those of Dr. Shaw.

The Story of a Pioneer will make those who are afraid of work ashamed, and it will inspire those who have pledged themselves to the cause of women to go forward with new courage.

The Woman Movement

Mary Ritter Beard's splendid study of **Woman's Work in Municipalities** ought to be a convincing answer to those who doubt whether women are as yet ready for citizenship. She shows what women have done and are doing in American communities, covering their work along the lines of Education, Public Health, the Social Evil, Recreation, the Assimilation of Races, Housing, Social Service, Corrections, Public Safety, Civic Improvement and Government and Administration. It is a remarkable record and serves as a valuable reference book.

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi's **"Common Sense" Applied to Woman Suffrage** is just as valuable as propaganda to-day as it was when presented to the Constitutional Convention of 1894. The book contains valuable historical data as well as sound arguments for woman suffrage. It is reprinted and brought to date with an introduction by Frances Maule Bjorkman.

"Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia," by Katharine Anthony, interprets the woman movement abroad, showing the striking differences in the point of view of those whose slogan is votes for women and those to whom "mutterschutz," or the protection of motherhood, is the all important struggle. Summarizing this difference Miss Anthony says:

" * * * the struggle for political liberty has fallen to the share of the English and American women and the fight for moral autonomy has fallen to the share of the German and Scandinavian women. * * * So completely have we, the political column of the woman movement, accepted our specialty that people are just now beginning to discover that feminism means more than suffragism; that the ballot for the ballot's sake is not the whole meaning of the suffrage agitation; that the political demands of women are inseparable from the social, educational, and economic demands of the whole feminist movement. It is a familiar charge of the anti-suffragists that suffrage is a cloak for feminism. * * * A heated anti-feminist orator, addressing a Berlin audience, exposed what he called the secret aim of feminism. What these emancipated women really were after, he said impressively, was the vote!"

To those who are interested in the international aspects of the woman movement, Miss Anthony's book will be most welcome and illuminating.

Social work is often regarded as good preparation for the franchise. It will be remembered that our distinguished convert, Theodore Roosevelt, declared that women's achievements along these lines had persuaded him. In **The Field of Social Service,** edited by Philip Davis, are many valuable chapters on opportunities along the lines of Health, Vocational Training, Housing and Recreation. Women who wish to volunteer their services to some good cause and women who wish to enter the field of social work professionally will find much valuable advice, given by experts, in various lines.

Drama and Fiction

The fourth volume of George B. Middleton's published drama, **Possession,** and other **One Act Plays** are in the main, further interpretations of the transitional era, particularly in the relation of woman to social codes. The title play in this new volume, as well as "Circles," are intimate studies of divorce as related to the rights of the child. From two different angles this complicated psychological situation is presented. Mr. Middleton seems to feel in this, as in his study of sex morality, "A Good Woman," that there can be no codified rule of conduct, and that the individual must, to a large degree, work out the problem to its own highest expression. Mr. Middleton is no respecter of conventions, save as he is artist enough to realize that they are often important to the characters he is delineating. He seems to believe, if one can judge a personal philosophy behind the work, that marriage is about as good or as bad as the people who make it; that most of its tragedy lies in the fact that often husband and wife are on different planes of evolution. Though he is a pronounced feminist in his feelings, these plays show that he senses the tragedy of those men who do not understand what's the matter with woman in her reach for a different expression. This new volume, which contains six plays, can be recommended to those who are anxious to convert a stubborn friend to some of the things women are striving to attain amid the social barriers and prejudiced discriminations which stand in the way of her personal expression.

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Just off Fifth Avenue

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Booklet and additional information sent upon request.

The Co-Citizens is a readable little farce, full of humor and good, hard common sense. Corra Harris has told the story of how a "dim" little old woman, dying in a southern town, creates a situation by which the women of the county win the right to vote. All of her great estate is left in trust to a committee which is to use the income until the women of the locality get the suffrage. Through the influence of this money the men of Jordantown are fairly held up and made to deliver the vote by means of threats to foreclose mortgages and loans which the estate holds over them. The tale ends with two love scenes in which the old fashioned woman has her innings. Thus all the world is content, antis and suffragists, and life wags merrily on.

Civics Two handbooks on civic matters give information for voters in clear and simple form. M. G. Stapler has compiled a **Primer for Voters** which includes Voting Regulations in New York State, Elections, Departments and Officers of State, County and City Government. It is just the kind of information that suffrage workers want and it is arranged so that it can be used quickly as a reference book.

How to Become a Naturalized Citizen gives full information with regard to naturalization, including a brief sketch of United States history, the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence.

The Woman Voter makes a good Christmas gift. Why not subscribe for some friend. Price, fifty cents a year.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Story of a Pioneer. Anna Howard Shaw. Published by Harper and Brothers, N. Y. Price $2.00 net.

Possession. George Middleton. Published by Henry Holt and Co., N. Y. Price $1.35 net.

Back of the Ballot. A One Act Farce. George Middleton. Published by Samuel French, N. Y. Price twenty-five cents.

The Co-Citizens. Corra Harris. Published by Doubleday, Page and Co., N. Y. Price $1.00.

"Common Sense" Applied to Woman Suffrage. Mary Putnam Jacobi. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y. Price $1.00 net.

Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia. Katharine Anthony. Published by Henry Holt and Co., N. Y. Price $1.25 net.

The Field of Social Service. Edited by Philip Davis. Published by Small, Maynard and Co., Boston. Price $1.50 net.

How to Become a Naturalized Citizen. Frank Voigt and Wellington Barto. Published by Boyer Brothers, Philadelphia. Price $1.00. Mailed prepaid.

Primer for Voters. M. G. Stapler. Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., N. Y. Price twenty-five cents.

National Floodmarks. Edited by Mark Sullivan. Published by the George H. Doran Company, N. Y. Price $1.50 net.

Ashes and Sparks. Richard Wightman. Published by the Century Company, N. Y. Price $1.25 net.

Your Baby. E. B. Lowry. Published by Forbes and Company, Chicago. Price $1.00 net.

Woman's Work in Municipalities. Mary Ritter Beard. Published by D. Appleton and Company, New York. Price $1.50 net.

The Man Who Forgot. James Hay. Published by Doubleday, Page and Company. Price $1.25 net.

MEN and women of the same social status are equal in intelligence and comprehension. By nature, women have the same right as men to vote. The questions at issue at the polls are learned as readily by women as by men. Women's views on public questions are as essential as men's to public welfare. Women's indirect influence (through their husbands, brothers and sons) is a physical and mental impossibility: "No man can serve two masters" at the polls. Women's votes give them power far greater than any influence, direct or indirect, that they may have over any voter. Men need have no fears of women's exercise of this power, but all confidence in the benefit of women's co-operation.

THOMAS W. HOTCHKISS

Every human being should have the right to express himself or herself in all possible ways. The ballot is a tremendous educational factor, and women need this kind of education. In other words, the fact that some women know little about politics and government is, to my mind, a strong reason why they should have the vote.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

"The extent of their false enthusiasms, indeed, is often the main difference between men and women. Enthusiasm is a "faculty divine" when it is genuine. Its steady driving power in man has been the cause of more great deeds than any other force. In women it is likely to run into hysterics or to die away into mere echoes."

This pearl is from *Life,* a comic weekly which champions the cause of cats, dogs, horses and the *divine faculties* of men.

DO YOU KNOW

That in 1869 Miss Jex-Blake and four other women entered for a medical degree at the University of Edinburgh?

That the president of the College of Physicians refused to give the women the prizes they had won?

That the undergraduates insulted any professor who allowed women to compete for prizes?

That the women were stoned in the streets, and finally excluded from the medical school.

That in 1877 the British Medical Association declared women ineligible for membership.

That in 1881 the International Medical Congress excluded women from all but its "social and ceremonial meetings"?

That the Obstetrical Society refused to allow a woman's name to appear on the title page of a pamphlet which she had written with her husband?

That according to a recent dispatch from London many hospitals, since the outbreak of hostilities, have asked women to become resident physicians, and public authorities are daily endeavoring to obtain women as assistant medical officers and as school doctors?

Alice Duer Miller

Since the Creator can trust women to produce all of the voters, we men might trust women to produce some of the votes.

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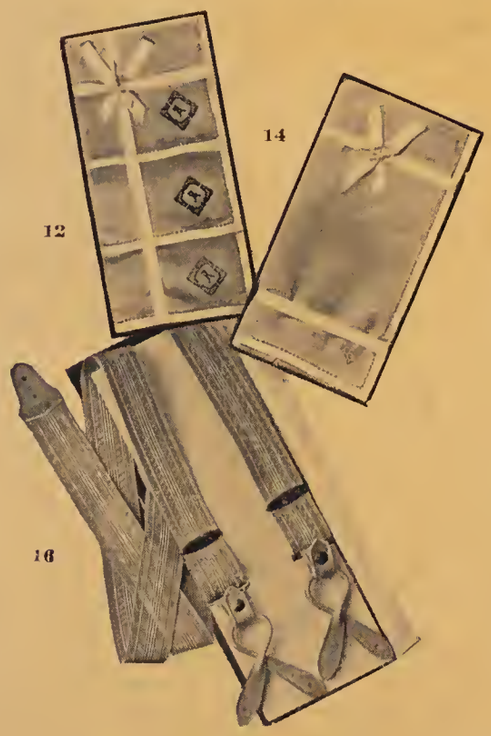

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